EMIGRATION OF INDIAN WORKERS TO THE UNITED STATES

PART II: GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES (EMPIRICAL FACTS)

(Preliminary Report)

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1. Introduction.

In order to comprehend the underlying forces responsible for the emigration of Indians to the U.S. it is necessary to view this process in a global perspective, since the migration of workers from one country to another not only reflects the conditions of these countries and their interdependence, but also the prevailing world-order. In this part we shall focus our attention on some salient characteristics of the U.S. immigration process, which is a particular manifestation of the international division of labor.

The major sources of immigrant workers to the U.S. shifted from northern and western Europe to southern and eastern Europe in the 1880's. However, a large number of Chinese and Japanese workers immigrated to the U.S. in certain periods before World War I, and their influx was reduced considerably by special immigration acts. Immigration of Asian workers was restricted principally by the Nationality-origin Quota Laws of the 1920's and the immigration act of 1917. Although a large number of Europeans immigrated to the U.S. during the post-World War II restabilization period, especially by appealing to the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 and the subsequent Refugee Act of 1953, the importance of the Western Hemisphere (especially the Latin American countries) for the supply of immigrant workers to the U.S. gradually increased from the 1950's.

The U.S. Immigration Act of 1965 and its subsequent modifications, as realized in practice, have three basic characteristics. Firstly, the number of PTK (professional, technical and kindred) immigrants has been greatly increased, and the major sources of these immigrant workers shifted from western Europe and Canada to those under-developed countries where the number

of professional and technical personnel was growing at a rate much faster than the rate of economic and social development under the prevailing dependent capitalist mode; the Philipines, India, Taiwan, Korea, the West Indies, Guyana, and even Mexico have now become the major suppliers of PTK immigrants to the U.S. The second characteristic of the 1965 Act is to provide opportunities to U.S. citizens and permanent residents to bring their close relatives to the U.S. as immigrants. This provision is not only the major route for importing "necessary" workers to the U.S., but also it reinforces the immigration process through contacts, chain reactions and permanent settlements. The third aspect of the U.S. immigration laws is the provisions and measures for admitting thousands of workers as immigrant "refugees" (mainly from socialist countries) along with the efforts to uphold the capitalist ideology. It may also be noted that the U.S. capital is greatly benefited by thousands of non-immigrant workers and millions of workers from Mexico and Central America who are called "illegal aliens", (see (16)) besides the Puerto Rican workers (see (15)).

2. PTK Immigrants.

The large growth in the number of PTK immigrants was accomplished by replacing the nationality-quota law by preference quotas, occupational preferences in particular. Although the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 was designed to give preferences to "certain highly skilled or educated persons whose immigration would be beneficial to the economic or cultural interests of the United States" (under the First Preference), during 1957-65 about 28,000 workers were admitted to the U.S. under Preference I, of whom only 3,500 were Asians including 400 Indians. During 1950-56 about 112,000 PTK workers were admitted as immigrants, of whom 64.2% were Europeans and 18%

Canadians; the number of PTK immigrants from Asia in this period was about 4,000 and from India only 332. The number of PTK workers admitted as immigrants to the U.S. sharply increased after 1956, accompanied by a significant change in the country-wise distribution of these immigrants. Out of 223,000 PTK immigrants admitted during 1957-65 about 50% were Europeans, 15.5% Canadians, 9.6% Asians (comprising of 1,913 Indians), and 14% came from Central America and the Caribbean region. The increase in the number of Asian PTK immigrants was due to gradual stabilization of the European economy and the influx of a large number of European refugees who were exempt from the quota-limitation (leaving many country-quotas unfilled).

The effect of the 1965 Act on the country-wise distribution of PTK immigrants admitted is given in Table G1. The average number of PTK immigrants admitted annually increased from 26,128 in the 1961-65 period to 43,303 in the 1970-79 period. About 50% of all PTK immigrants admitted during 1966-79 came from the following (seven topmost) countries (arranged in decreasing order): Philipines, India, China and Taiwan, U.K., Korea, Cuba and Jamaica. Out of 443,860 PTK immigrants admitted during 1970-79 only 18.2% came from Europe and 3.5% from Canada; on the other hand, 10.6% came from North America excluding Canada, and 57.6% from Asia. It is to be noted that the total contribution of India and the Philipines to the pool of PTK immigrants admitted during 1970-79 was 30.4%--much higher than the corresponding total share of all European countries and Canada combined.

The relative contribution of a country to the total pool of PTK immigrants admitted to the U.S. is measured by the following index:

$$\text{PTK index of Country C} = \frac{\text{Percentage of PTK immigrants among all immigrants admitted from Country C}}{\text{Percentage of PTK immigrants among all immigrants admitted}} \times 100.$$

Table G1: PTK Immigrants to the U.S., 1961-79: Selected Countries/Regions of Origin

Country/Region (by birth)	1961-65			1966-69			1970-77*			1978-79		
	No. of PTK immig.			No. of PTK immig.			No. of PTK immig.			No. of PTK immig.		
	Annual Average	%	As % of total	Annual Average	%	As % of total	Annual Average	%	As % of total	Annual Average	%	As % of total
All countries	26,128	100.0	9.0	40,218	100.0	10.7	43,089	100.0	10.9	44,187	100.0	8.3
Europe	11,992	45.9	9.7	13,117	32.6	10.0	7,949	18.4	9.3	7,576	17.1	11.3
Germany	1,851	7.1	7.1	1,447	3.6	9.7	624	1.4	9.2	622	1.4	9.5
U.K.	3,762	14.4	14.9	4,146	10.3	18.4	1,793	4.2	15.7	2,256	5.1	16.0
Asia	2,523	9.7	11.7	12,741	31.7	22.2	25,452	59.1	18.9	22,858	51.7	10.4
China & Taiwan	492	1.9	11.7	2,572	6.4	16.8	3,192	7.4	16.1	2,870	6.5	12.6
India	264	1.0	39.3	2,244	5.6	50.6	6,121	14.2	40.8	4,208	9.5	20.8
Japan	172	0.7	4.5	414	1.0	11.1	493	1.1	10.7	410	0.9	10.1
Korea	159	0.6	7.8	744	1.8	18.2	2,865	6.6	13.9	1,994	4.5	6.8
Philipines	539	2.1	16.9	4,115	10.2	30.3	7,926	18.4	24.1	5,380	12.2	13.7
Canada	4,025	15.4	11.5	3,340	8.3	13.6	1,337	3.1	13.1	2,321	5.2	15.2
N. America excl. Canada	4,445	17.0	5.3	7,130	17.7	5.4	4,218	9.8	3.0	6,122	13.8	3.5
Cuba	2,085	8.0	13.5	3,015	7.5	7.4	1,061	2.5	3.8	1,066	2.4	4.7
Jamaica				1,296	3.2	10.9	738	1.7	6.2	1,414	3.2	7.2
South America	2,536	9.7	10.7	2,324	5.8	10.5	1,642	3.8	7.1	2,496	5.6	6.5
Africa	409	1.6	15.7	1,153	2.9	25.2	1,970	4.6	26.5	2,272	5.1	18.6
Oceania	196	0.8	15.0	413	1.0	18.1	521	1.2	15.5	542	1.2	12.2

Source: I.N.S. Annual Reports, U.S. Government.

*Includes the transition quarter July 1 - Sept. 30, 1976. Total PTK immigrants in TQ, 1976 = 10,409.

The PTK indices of selected countries in different periods of time are given in Table G2. During 1966-75 the countries with high PTK indices were India, Philipines, Egypt, China and Taiwan, Iran, Korea, Israel, U.S.S.R., U.K. and the countries in Oceania; the PTK index of India was over 400! It may be noted that the PTK indices of India, Philipines, Korea, and China and Taiwan gradually decreased in the later part of the 1970's, whereas the PTK indices of the West Indies, Canada, U.K., and Japan increased in this period.

During 1966-79 about 25% of all immigrant workers (listed as declaring some occupations at the time of entry) were classified into the PTK group, whereas about 77% of all immigrant workers from India admitted during this period were listed as PTK. It is also important to compare the number of the PTK immigrants from any given country to the U.S. with the size and growth of the PTK population in that country. For example, Jamaica's population is about 2.2 million now, and probably less than 4% of the population could be listed as PTK workers; but about 14,000 PTK workers from Jamaica emigrated to the U.S. during 1966-79. Cuba was also extremely affected, especially in the first phase of socialist construction, when a large number of Cuban professional and technical workers emigrated to the U.S.; about 35,000 Cuban PTK workers emigrated to the U.S. during 1958-79. Developmental efforts of any country is naturally retarded if a large portion of its small PTK labor force emigrates. Although the total number of PTK immigrants from India to the U.S. is not a large fraction of the PTK labor force that exists in India now, the emigration of these privileged people has to be viewed in conjunction with the fact that 60% of India's population are still illiterate and probably more than 50% of Indians live

Table G2: PTK Indices, 1961-79: Selected Countries/Regions

Country/Region (by birth)	1961-65	1966-70	1971-75	1976	1977	1978	1979
All countries	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Europe	107	90	77	109	117	135	136
Germany	79	89	83	82	90	115	114
Greece	73	35	40	44	44	65	58
Italy	30	20	24	38	53	59	55
Poland	74	98	120	131	141	158	189
Portugal	13	7	9	15	16	17	19
Spain	151	99	81	116	97	126	123
U.K.	165	162	138	157	182	200	184
U.S.S.R.	127	140	185	212	204	232	244
Asia	130	178	195	161	155	129	120
China & Taiwan	130	167	170	129	167	185	121
India	436	459	394	355	318	280	218
Iran	265	323	252	154	157	172	140
Israel	141	198	176	144	143	175	168
Japan	50	103	98	100	98	124	120
Korea	87	224	126	95	92	90	73
Lebanon	200	127	94	104	102	94	80
Philipines	188	272	240	265	166	192	140
Canada	128	120	116	134	160	182	182
N. America excl. Canada	57	46	26	24	36	40	45
Cuba	151	65	36	26	37	58	53
Dom. Repub.	46	22	20	18	25	32	34
Jamaica	125	90	52	53	80	87	86
Mexico	14	12	8	10	15	15	18
Trinidad & Tobago		80 (1967-70)	49	51	62	85	75
S. America	119	90	67	64	67	81	74
Africa	174	263	241	209	239	232	215
Egypt	186	331	287	298	336	343	329
Oceania	167	164	146	142	137	162	130

Source: Computed from I.N.S. Annual Reports, U.S. Government.

under the officially determined poverty level. Neither is there any concerted national effort to shape and use these human resources effectively for national development, nor are these groups of professional and technical workers in India seriously motivated for promoting development of India's impoverished majority. On the other hand, the causes and effects of the emigration of PTK workers from the U.K., Canada, and even Israel have to be viewed under prespectives specific to these countries, as determined by the specific role of each of these countries in the capitalist world. It has often been stated that the U.S. Immigration Act of 1965 does not favor any particular country. Although this Act might appear to be "fair" to every country when viewed abstractly, the actual realization of preference-quotas has resulted in extremely uneven country-wise distributions of immigrants to the U.S. in relation to their numbers as well as occupations.

Several authors (see Part III) have tried to analyse the country-wise variation in the number of PTK immigrants to the U.S., and resorted to some statistical tests which are inapplicable to the situation. Firstly, the PTK group is a combination of various types of occupations, and the relationships of these types with the U.S. economy as well as the forces of emigration from different countries are not the same. This fact is partly revealed in the time-series data of the number of immigrants listed under ten major PTK occupation groups, which constitute about two-thirds of all PTK immigrants admitted during 1966-79 (see Table G3). Three major PTK occupation groups are scientists, engineers, and physicians and surgeons, of whom we shall discuss later.

Table G4 reveals that the number of PTK immigrants admitted in different years during 1966-79 varied considerably, with a peak in the year 1971-72.

Table G3: PTK Immigrants to the U.S. by Major Occupational Groups, 1966-79.

Occupation	1966-69	1970-73	1974-77*	1978-79	1966-79*
PTK - total	160,871	185,035	170,451	88,374	604,731
Accountants & Auditors	9,229	15,590	11,684	6,016	42,519
Architects	1,946	2,957	1,741	900	7,544
Engineers	29,916	30,034	20,049	12,586	92,585
Physicians & Surgeons	11,762	23,177	24,460	7,475	66,874
Registered Nurses	20,926	24,582	25,069	9,094	79,671
Scientists-Life & Physical, and Mathematical	8,875	10,004	6,383	3,373	28,635
Social Scientists	1,213	2,157	2,494	1,300	7,164
Teachers-Colleges & Universities	6,299	6,074	5,805	3,378	21,556
Technicians-Health, Engineers & Science	11,728	11,057	12,281	6,976	42,042
Computer Specialists			2,226	1,867	4,093

*Includes the transition quarter July 1-Sept. 30, 1976.

Source: I.N.S. Annual Reports, U.S. Government, and personal communications.

This is due to the fact that the number of PTK immigrants admitted was dependent on labor certifications, refugee acts and paroles, as well as family preferences. As a matter of fact, only one-fourth of all PTK immigrants was admitted under occupational preferences during 1966-77, although for certain PTK occupation groups this ratio is higher (see Table G11). Although the increase in the number of PTK immigrants admitted is associated with an increasing growth of the number of PTK workers in the U.S. labor force, there is no distinct relationship between these two sets of time-series data (given in Table G4). It may be noted that about 49,000 PTK immigrants were admitted in 1971, although there was a decline of PTK labor force in the U.S. at that time. As a matter of fact, PTK immi-

grants were admitted, even when the unemployment rates among different PTK occupation groups were far from insignificant.

Table G4: Number of PTK Workers in the Labor Force in the U.S. and Number of PTK Immigrants Admitted to the U.S., 1950-79.

Year	PTK Labor Force				PTK Immigrants			
	Total (in thousands)	Increase (in thousands)	Annual growth rate %	% of total labor force	Total admitted	Annual growth rate %	% of all immig. workers admitted	Cumulative total (in thousands) from 1950
1950	4,490			7.5	20,502		16.2	20.5
1960	7,475	2,985	5.2	11.2	21,940	0.7	17.9	204.2
1965	8,883	1,408	3.5	12.3	28,790	5.6	22.0	334.8
1966	9,322	439	4.9	12.6	30.039	4.3	23.4	364.8
1967	9,879	557	6.0	13.3	41,652	38.6	27.2	406.4
1968	10,325	446	4.5	13.6	48,753	17.0	23.3	455.2
1969	10,769	444	4.3	13.8	46,427	-4.8	26.1	501.6
1970	11,140	371	3.4	14.2	46,151	-0.6	29.4	547.8
1971	11,070	-70	-0.6	14.0	48,850	5.8	31.9	596.6
1972	11,459	389	3.5	14.0	48,887	0.1	31.1	645.5
1973	11,777	318	2.8	14.0	41,147	-15.8	26.3	686.6
1974	12,338	561	4.8	14.4	35,483	-13.8	23.4	722.1
1975	12,748	410	3.3	15.0	38,491	8.5	25.7	760.6
1976	13,329	581	4.6	15.2	41,068	6.7	26.6	801.7
1977	13,692	363	2.7	15.1	45,000	9.6	23.8	846.7
1978	14,245	553	4.0	15.1	48,908	8.7	19.7	895.6
1979	15,050	805	5.6	15.6	39,466	-19.3	21.3	935.1
1980	15,613	563	3.7	16.0				

Source: U.S. Statistical Abstracts, 1950-1980.

2.1. Immigrant Scientists, Engineers, and Physicians and Surgeons.

The immigration of a large number of scientists, engineers, and physicians

and surgeons, especially from Asia, as a result of the 1965 Act is of utmost importance. During 1956-65 about 50,700 scientists and engineers (S|E) immigrated to the U.S., of whom 44% came from Europe, 24% from Canada, and only 12% from Asia; out of 18,350 physicians and surgeons (PS) admitted as immigrants during the above period 12.3% came from Asia, 34.6% from Europe, and 16% from Canada. The effect of the 1965 Act is revealed in Table G5. On the average, the annual influx of immigrant scientists and engineers increased by about 82% between the periods 1962-65 and 1966-79; in the case of immigrant physicians and surgeons the annual influx increased by about 130%.

Table G5. Number of Immigrant Scientists (S), Engineers (E), and Physicians and Surgeons (P&S) Admitted to the U.S., 1962-78: Selected Countries and Regions.

Country/Region (by LPR)	1962-65		1966-70		1971-75*		1976-77		1978-79	
	S&E	P&S	S&E	P&S	S&E	P&S	S&E	P&S	S&E	P&S
All countries-total	21,337	8,151	56,293	14,845	46,557	31,196	15,971	13,257	19,085	7,475
Percentage distribution All countries	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Europe	41.9	27.8	31.6	23.0	18.4	14.8	25.0	17.3	21.9	14.2
Germany	7.1	3.7	4.1	2.6	1.6	1.3	1.7	0.8	1.6	1.2
U.K.	17.1	7.2	13.5	5.7	5.7	6.2	7.2	9.4	8.1	4.4
Asia	15.2	11.4	41.1	40.7	62.8	66.3	53.2	56.5	51.5	47.8
Taiwan			6.0	0.9	5.8	4.6	5.5	2.6	5.1	3.3
India	2.8	0.6	14.1	4.0	23.6	21.3	15.8	24.0	15.8	14.3
Korea	1.1	0.7	1.9	3.5	3.7	9.7	3.7	2.8	2.8	2.1
Japan	0.8	0.7	1.0	1.0	1.2	0.8	1.0	0.6	0.8	0.4
Philipines	0.8	4.3	7.7	20.2	15.0	11.9	10.6	12.2	6.4	12.5
Near and Middle East	3.8	3.5	4.6	7.0	5.5	8.0	7.2	8.1		
Canada	22.1	19.2	12.7	11.1	6.2	5.7	7.1	7.7	8.8	15.4
North & Central America excl. Canada	9.2	21.6	5.5	11.2	4.7	4.2	5.7	6.8	7.0	10.3
Cuba	2.6	8.7	2.0	4.2	0.8	1.0	1.0	2.2	0.6	1.7
South America	8.5	17.5	3.9	9.3	3.1	4.4	4.0	5.2	4.7	7.1
Africa	1.3	2.0	4.0	3.8	3.8	3.7	3.9	5.1	5.0	4.7

Sources: Computed from NSF 65-17, NSF 68-14, NSF 69-36, NSF 77-305, NSF 80-324 and private communications with the NSF and I.N.S.

*July 1, 1970 to Sept. 30, 1975.

During 1966-79 about 92,000 engineers, 33,000 natural scientists, 8,000 social scientists, and 66,000 physicians and surgeons immigrated to the U.S. More than 50% of all immigrant scientists and engineers admitted during this period came from Asia, mainly from India and the Philipines. In particular, the total contribution of India and the Philipines combined to the pool of immigrant scientists and engineers admitted during 1966-79 was about 28%. On the other hand, about one-fourth of these immigrant scientists and engineers came from Europe, and about 9% from Canada.

During 1969-78 about 64,000 engineers were admitted to the U.S. as immigrants, and almost two-thirds of them were Asians (by birth); moreover, three-fifths of the 24,000 immigrant natural scientists admitted in the above period were Asians.

Although 1970-72 was the peak period for the influx of immigrant scientists and engineers, the current trend seems to be increasing again. The structure of the inflow of immigrant scientists and engineers is given in Tables G5 and G6. Although the proportion of immigrant S|E from India decreased in 1976-78, still India was the topmost contributor. It seems that the number of immigrant S|E from Canada, Central America and the Caribbean region, Africa and the Near and Middle East all have increasing trends.

The number of immigrant S|E in major fields of engineering and science are given in Table G7. It may be added that "computer specialists" is becoming a major group among immigrant scientists, so far as its size is concerned.

Between 1968 and 1977 about 53,4000 physicians and surgeons immigrated to the U.S.; in this group 69% were Asians, and 24% Indians. Many of these Asians came from the U.K. and Canada.

However, the number of immigrant PS admitted to the U.S. reduced to [illegible] 1978, and reduced further to 3,940 in 1979. This reduction was

Table G6: Number of Immigrant Engineers, Physicians and Surgeons, Natural Scientists Admitted to the U.S.; Selected Periods, and Selected Countries and Regions.

Country/Region (by LPR)	Engineers		Physicians & Surgeons		Natural Scientists	
	1969-75*	1976-78	1968-77*	1978-79	1969-75*	1976-78
Total - all countries	47,210	17,099	53,423	7475	17,990	5,930
Europe - total	8,930(9,232)	3.941(4,119)	8,810(6,487)	1,058	3,573(3,603)	1,338
France	386	141	230	53	163	54
Germany	940	225	714	92	370(336)	127(102)
Greece	566	175	471	46	233	56
Turkey	334(394)	90(108)	355	21	70	23
U.K.	3,084(2,695)	1,129(1,082)	3,631(1,038)	332	1,185(1,009)	488(470)
East Europe	1,321(2,711)	1,587(1,897)	1,227(2,407)	270	540(1,038)	255(401)
Poland	245(487)	156(211)	252(528)	67	123(232)	40(76)
Canada	3,418(863)	1,076(387)	3,617(1,002)	1,153	1,465(478)	593(259)
Cuba	269(386)	231(148)	936(1,200)	128	136(177)	200(62)
Jamaica	233	236	229**	102	115	62
Mexico	313	147(233)	554	166	371	62
Argentina	148	48	680	140	83	66
Brazil	173	59	177	37	61	24
Colombia	363	143	621	63	105	57
Peru	190	93	397	90	46	35
Venezuela	103	59	124	27	40	19
Egypt	1,260	333	619**	138	702	87
Asia - total	29,343(31,515)	9,657(10,125)	32,535(36,801)	3,570	10,004(10,989)	3,039(3,292)
Iran	957	533(519)	1,755(1,892)	153	227	71
Israel	533(340)	351(153)	619	63	276	141
Lebanon	413	161(182)	645	60	102	35(22)
China	712(2,669)	250(1,022)	333(1,684)	33	431(1,545)	97(297)
Hong Kong	736	364	452	121	355	146
India	11,801(12,420)	2,843(3,162)	10,279(12,883)	1,071	2,981(3,637)	1,031(1,208)
Japan	393	144	406	29	305(279)	60(67)
Korea	1,458	676	3,827	155	577	145
Pakistan	989(1,912)	294(385)	1,283(1,682)	66	465(494)	99(105)
Philippines	7,418	1,831	7,512(7,871)	936	2,131(2,182)	547(559)
Taiwan	2,296(1,277)	955(467)	1,864(1,195)	248	1,599(990)	337(241)

*Includes the TQ, 1975.

**1969-1977

Note: Figures in parenthesis correspond to nationalities by birth.

Sources: NSF 80-324, Unpublished data (NSF),

PTK Tables, (unpublished), I.N.S., U.S. Government.

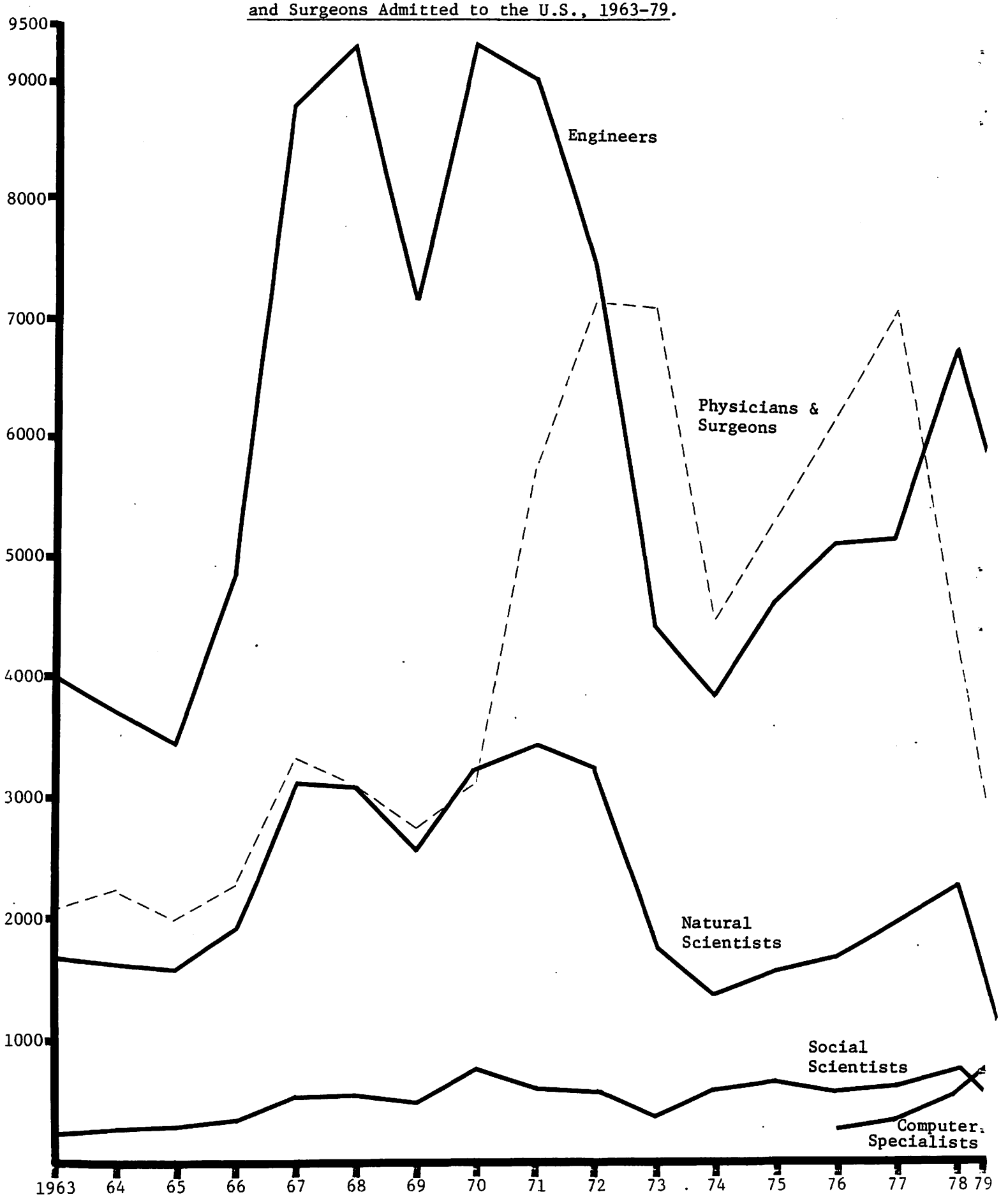
Table G7: Number of Scientists, Engineers, and Physicians and Surgeons Admitted to the U.S. as Immigrants, 1962-79, by Major Occupations.

Occupation	1962-66	1967-72	1973-77*	1978-79
Engineers-Annual Average	5,808	8,507	4,694	6,346
Percentage:				
Aeronautical	3.2	2.1	0.8	1.1
Chemical	5.5	9.1	9.0	7.2
Civil	11.1	14.6	13.6	9.8
Electrical	14.5	15.9	14.2	13.6
Industrial	3.6	3.6	3.8	3.5
Mechanical	10.9	17.3	16.3	12.8
Natural Scientists-Annual Average	1,631	3,143	1,737	1,970
Percentage:				
Agricultural	9.3	10.8	17.2	16.4
Biological	9.6	12.8	15.6	15.2
Chemists	46.5	45.7	39.1	37.9
Geologists & Geophysicists	6.1	4.5	5.4	6.5
Mathematical	8.7	10.8	10.7	11.3
Physicists & Astronomers	16.0	12.4	8.4	8.4
Social Scientists-Annual Average	270	602	582	714
Percentage:				
Economists	51.1	50.0	53.6	53.5
Psychologists	31.8	23.5	23.1	25.1
Computer Specialists-Annual Average	-	-	245	540
Physicians & Surgeons-Annual Average	2,140	4,211	6,015	3,720

*July 1, 1972 to Sept. 30, 1977.

Sources: NSF 65-17, 68-14, 69-36, 72-305 and personal communications.

Figure G1: Number of Immigrant Scientists, Engineers, and Physicians and Surgeons Admitted to the U.S., 1963-79.



the effect of the PL94-984 of 1976, which restricted the entry of foreign medical graduates into the U.S. This law was introduced apparently for two reasons: (a) "the Congress further finds and declares that there is no longer an insufficient number of physicians and surgeons in the United States" (11), (b) the Congress sought to slow the influx of foreign medical graduates into the U.S. "on the assumption that too many ill-qualified persons were entering" (11). The U.S. Visa Qualifying Examination and the Test for English as a Foreign Language are now used in order to screen foreign PS seeking immigrant status in the U.S. However, the PL95-83 of 1977 relaxed many restrictions, especially for H1 visa requirements and for graduates of United States and Canadian medical schools. "This Amendment opened the way for internationally famous medical professionals to enter the United States without having to meet the testing requirements" (11). Moreover, some special foreign medical graduates can be admitted under "Special Immigrants", which is exempt from numerical limitation.

The immigration of PTK workers especially scientists, engineers and physicians and surgeons needs to be viewed in relation to the changes in the structure of the U.S. labor force. Between 1950 and 1978 the number of engineers in the U.S. labor force increased by 215% and the number of natural scientists by 355% (see Table G8). However, the growth rate was much more in the period 1950-65 than in the period 1965-78, and the growth rate of the number of engineers and scientists was much higher than that of the size of the labor force. Table G8 gives the time-series data of the number of natural scientists in six major occupation groups. Table G8 does not reveal any clear relationship between the growth in labor

Table G8: Engineers, Scientists and Physicians and Surgeons in the U.S.--Number in the Labor Force and Number Admitted: Selected Years in 1950-1978.

Occupation	Number in Labor Force (in Thousands)									Number of Immigrants Admitted (in Thousands)	
	1950	1960	1963	1970	1974	1976	1978	Increase 1963-70	Increase 1970-78	1964-70	1971-78*
Engineers	408.0	801.0	922.7	1,098.2	1,228.6	1,268.0	1,285.0	175.5	186.8	46.7	47.8
Natural Scientists	148.7	302.9	358.1	496.5	605.0	692.0	677.0	138.4	180.5	17.4	18.2
								1963-70	1974-78	1964-70	1975-78
Agricultural Scientists	16.9	30.4	38.5	49.3	90.0	118.0	120.0	10.8	30.0	1.58	1.37
Biological Scientists	19.9	44.3	51.3	71.1	112.0	124.0	133.0	19.8	21.0	1.95	1.23
Chemists	51.9	99.7	110.0	132.9	137.0	157.0	147.0	22.9	10.0	8.10	3.14
Geologists & Geophysicists	13.0	20.4	22.5	30.6	67.0	72.0	65.0	8.1	-2.0	0.89	0.47
Mathematical Scientists	13.8	34.2	43.6	74.3	84.0	92.0	90.0	30.7	6.0	1.77	0.92
Physicists	14.0	29.8	36.3	49.1	54.0	61.0	52.0	12.8	-2.0	2.55	0.74
	1950		1965	1970	1975	1977	1978	1965-70	1970-78	1966-70	1971-78
Physicians & Surgeons	233		305	348	409	438	454	43	106	14.9	48.9

Sources: U.S. Statistical Abstract, 1980, NSB-74-287, NSF: 65-17, 68-14, 69-36, 72-305, 77-305, 80-324.

force in different scientific fields and the number of immigrants admitted in these respective fields. The number of immigrants admitted in any scientific field seems to be dependent not only on the size and growth of the U.S. labor force in that field along with the development of educational facilities in that field in the U.S., but also on the size and growth of personnel in that field in each of the countries contributing to the immigrant labor force. At the initial stage, the number of immigratns in the traditional fields, like Chemistry and Physics, surpassed the number in any other field, but later the number of immigrants in other scientific fields increased considerably following the trend of development in the U.S.

The growth rate in the number of PS in the labor force was higher in the later period 1965-78 than in 1950-65. The influx of immigrant PS spurred after 1970; the number of immigrant PS admitted during 1971-78 was about 47,600, whereas between 1970 and 1978 the number of PS in the U.S. labor force increased by 106,000. The influx of foreign PS to the U.S., especially as exchange visitors, started late and the size of the nonimmigrant PS was much smaller than the nonimmigrant S|E before 1970. The demonstration effect of the immigration of S|E in the early period was also partly responsible for the influx of PS in the later period.

2.2. Adjustments to Immigrant Status

It is generally believed that most of the immigrant S|E first came to the U.S. with nonimmigrant visas and later adjusted to immigrant status. However, according to NSF80-324, only 38% of all immigrant S|E admitted to the U.S. during 1966-78 adjusted to immigrant status from nonimmigrant

status. The adjustment rates varied in different periods, as shown in the following table.

Table G9: Number of Immigrant Scientists and Engineers in the U.S. Adjusted from Nonimmigrant Status: 1966-78.

Period	1966-69	1970-72	1973-77*	1978	1966-78*
Percentage of immig. S|E adjusted from nonimmig. status	35.0	44.4	33.8	42.3	38.2
Total S|E admitted	45,645	37,763	38,103	10,455	131,965

Sources: NSF 80-324, NSF 72-312, 77-305.

*Includes TQ, 1976.

In 1970 (one of the peak years) about 39% of immigrant engineers, 45% of natural scientists, 48% of social scientists, and 28% of physicians and surgeons admitted to the U.S. adjusted from nonimmigrant status (NSF 72-312). Between 1966 and 1975 about 27,000 students became immigrant S|E, and the country-wise rates in different periods are given in the following table. It may be added that during 1966-75 about 125,000 foreign students were enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities annually (on the average), of whom 49% were Asians (by LPR).

Table G10: Number of Immigrant S|E and P|S Admitted to the U.S., and Adjustments from Nonimmigrant Status. 1966-75, 1977-78. From All Countries, Europe and Asia (by birth).

Occupation of immigrants	1966-69			1970-72			1973-75*			1977-78		
	All	Europe	Asia	All	Europe	Asia	All	Europe	Asia	All	Europe	Asia
NS - total	10,816	3,907	4,538	9,991	1,721	6,501	5,256	1,184	3,026	4,102	907	2,206
% adjusted	38.8	14.4	72.9	50.0	41.8	60.8	37.5	38.9	43.4	40.4	37.8	48.0
% adjusted from students	27.1	5.5	57.8	32.7	10.6	45.5	23.9	6.8	30.1	18.7	4.0	30.1
SS - total	1,938	707	749	2,015	561	1,021	1,948	675	815	1,620	530	564
% adjusted	36.6	19.9	67.2	53.2	39.9	71.2	41.8	33.3	58.2	42.2	31.5	61.0
% adjusted from students	24.4	7.1	53.0	33.8	13.0	46.2	21.6	9.5	37.7	18.6	5.1	38.6
E - total	30,190	12,331	11,977	25,756	4,221	18,350	14,300	2,986	9,384	11,953	2,760	6,998
% adjusted	35.7	11.6	68.0	41.2	34.2	47.4	33.7	34.5	36.5	39.6	29.7	46.8
% adjusted from students	27.3	4.2	58.0	31.6	9.3	41.1	21.5	5.9	29.4	21.6	4.5	31.9
	1966-70			1971-75*			1977			1978		
PS - total	11,690	2,832	4,917	31,191	3,255	23,276	7,073	737	4,389	4,435	546	2,330
% adjusted	25.7	17.4	35.5	47.6	41.2	54.2	34.2	28.0	39.6	47.3	36.8	54.9
% adjusted from exchange visitors	14.0	6.6	25.0	36.0	24.3	43.1	19.8	12.3	17.1	20.5	14.6	26.7

*Includes July 1, 1972 to Sept. 30, 1975

Sources: N.S.F., U.S. Government (personal communication)

Details on adjustments of PTK immigrants to immigrant status is not available in the official reports. About 26% of all PTK immigrants during 1966-77 were admitted under occupational preference; of these PTK immigrants admitted under occupational preferences about 46% adjusted from nonimmigrant status. However, these rates varied among different PTK occupational groups, and details are given in Table G11.

Table G11: No. of PTK Immigrants Admitted under Occupational Preferences and Number Adjusted under Occupational Preferences, by Major PTK Occupational Groups, 1966-79.

Occupation	1966-69		1970-73		1974-77		1978-79	
	% admitted under occup. pref-erences	of those admitted under occup. pref. % adjusted	% admitted under occup. pref-erences	of those admitted under occup. pref. % adjusted	% admitted under occup. pref-erences	of those admitted under occup. pref. % adjusted	% admitted under occup. pref-erences	of those admitted under occup. pref. % adjusted
PTK-all occupations	24.53	55.44	26.61	40.87	25.48	42.48	19.90	65.52
Accountants & Auditors	20.18	32.98	44.43	15.19	34.88	11.91	11.74	49.15
Engineers	38.60	65.25	33.98	41.08	30.36	45.08	28.42	60.05
Physicians & Surgeons	30.35	24.37	24.68	55.33	33.03	54.53	22.66	68.83
Nurses	15.28	21.11	24.41	30.00	39.33	23.06	30.57	56.73
Natural Scientists	35.00	62.14	29.44	48.37	20.02	50.80	31.60	67.00
Social Scientists	23.99	60.14	22.93	60.73	20.50	63.12	18.77	72.13
Professors & Instructors	39.75	78.39	24.98	76.41	21.02	80.38	27.92	79.53

Source: Annual Reports of I.N.S., U.S. Government.

Contrary to the general belief, most of the immigrants admitted during 1966-79 were "direct" immigrants (i.e., not adjustments from nonimmigrant

status). As a matter of fact, about 70 percent of Asian immigrants and 68% of Indian immigrants were admitted directly to immigrant status. Moreover, only 7% of Asian immigrants and 14% of Indian immigrants admitted to the U.S. during 1966-79 adjusted from nonimmigrant student status (at the time of entry).

Again the very fact that more than 397,000 tourists and 32,000 exchange visitors were able to become permanent residents in the U.S. during 1966-79 contradicts the popular belief that it is almost impossible for an exchange visitor or a (temporary) tourist to live in the U.S. permanently. Of these 397,000 tourists about 168,000 were Europeans and 143,000 Asians. Moreover, 25,000 Asian exchange visitors did not have to leave the U.S., since the U.S. Government granted them immigrant status. During 1966-79 more than 149,000 students adjusted to immigrant status; in this group there were 13,000 Europeans and 115,000 Asians.

Table G12: Number of Immigrants Admitted to the U.S. from Nonimmigrant Status--All Regions, Europe, Asia and India; 1966-79.

Country/Region (by birth)	Percentage distribution						
	Total Adjusted	Adjusted to immigrant status under Sec. 245					
		Total	Status at entry (selected categories)				
			Student	Exch. visitor	Spouses and children of students and exch. visitors	Temporary workers and trainees	Temporary visitors
All regions	22.8	12.8	2.6	0.6	0.6	0.4	6.9
Europe	19.5	17.1	1.0	0.3	0.2	0.6	12.5
Asia	29.9	21.2	6.6	1.4	1.6	0.5	8.2
India	31.8	31.7	14.3	3.0	6.1	0.4	5.5

Source: Annual I.N.S. Reports, U.S. Government.

*Excludes the TQ, 1976.

2.3. Foreign Students in the U.S.

It is true that a large fraction of foreign students, especially graduate students in science and engineering, eventually adjusted their nonimmigrant status to immigrant status, either while they were students in the U.S. or during their training periods in the U.S. Many foreign students and exchange visitors were able to get permanent resident U.S. visas after leaving the U.S. and staying elsewhere for one or two years.

The most important fact is that the number of foreign students in U.S. colleges and universities increased from 34,000 in 1954-55 to 82,000 in 1964-65 and then rose to 286,000 in 1979-80. Throughout this 25-year period 1965-80 about one-fourth of all foreign students had engineering as their major field of study; the proportion of foreign students in business and management almost doubled during this period, whereas the proportion of foreign students in humanities reduced by 75%. Another important point is to note that about one-half of all foreign students were in the Master's or Ph.D. programs in 1969-70, while this proportion reduced to one-third in 1979-80. The details are given in Table G14.

The structure of the group of foreign students in relation to their countries or origin has also changed considerably in the last decade. Table G15 gives the lists of the topmost fifteen countries of origin in different periods. The percentage of foreign students from the OPEC countries increased from 9.1 in 1969-70 to 35.0 in 1979-80; the number of African students (mostly from Nigeria) also increased from 7,500 to 36,000 during the above period. After World War II the number of Asian students in U.S. colleges and universities gradually increased, and the proportion of Asian students among all foreign students varied between 42% and 56% during 1955-80. On the other hand, the proportion of European and North American

Table G13: Number of Foreign Students in U.S. Colleges and Universities, Selected Periods 1954-80, Selected Regions: Percentage Distribution.

Regions	1954-55	1959-60	1964-65	1969-70	1974-75	1979-80
All countries-total	34,232	48,486	82,045	134,959	154,580	286,340
Percentage distribution						
All countries	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Europe	15.2	13.2	12.3	13.7	8.9	8.9
Asia	41.6	50.1	49.5	47.7	53.3	55.8
Latin America	24.7	19.4	16.6	18.5	17.0	14.8
North America	13.8	11.9	11.4	9.9	5.6	5.4
Africa	3.6	4.0	8.4	5.6	11.9	12.6

Source: Open Door, I.I.E., Washington, D.C.

Table G14: Percentage Distribution of the Number of Foreign Students in U.S. Colleges and Universities by Major Fields of Study: 1954-55 to 1979-80, Selected Periods.

Major Fields of Study	1979-80	1978-79	1975-76	1969-70	1964-65	1959-60	1954-55
Engineering	26.9	29.8	23.4	22.0	22.0	23.3	22.3
Natural & Life Science	7.6	9.2	13.3	12.6	14.3	12.9	10.7
Math. & Computer Science	5.4	5.6	5.1	3.3	3.3	2.1	1.3
Agriculture	3.1	3.3	2.9	2.7	3.9	3.3	3.5
Health Professions	3.8	4.7	4.0	4.4	6.0	7.6	9.3
Social Science	7.9	8.9	11.6	12.8	15.4	14.0	14.7
Business & Management	16.4	16.5	16.0	11.6	8.7	8.5	8.6
Education	4.3	5.6	5.5	5.8	4.9	5.1	4.3
Humanities	4.0	5.7	8.4	14.9	14.8	14.1	16.1
Graduate (Post-Bachelors) level	32.9	43.5	46.5	48.3	47.9	42.9	38.8

Source: Open Door, I.I.E., Washington, D.C.

Table G15: Number of Foreign Students in U.S. Colleges and Universities, 1959-80, Selected Periods, Topmost Fifteen Countries of Origin.

1979-80		1974-75		1969-70		1964-65		1959-60	
Country	Number	Country	Number	Country	Number	Country	Number	Country	Number
Iran	51,310	Iran	13,780	Canada	13,318	Canada	9,253	Canada	5,679
Taiwan	17,560	Hong Kong	11,060	Taiwan	12,029	India	6,813	Taiwan	4,546
Nigeria	16,360	Taiwan	10,250	India	11,327	Taiwan	6,780	India	3,772
Canada	15,130	India	9,660	Hong Kong	7,202	Iran	3,719	Iran	2,507
Japan	12,260	Canada	8,430	Iran	5,175	Japan	3,386	Korea	2,474
Hong Kong	9,900	Nigeria	7,210	Cuba	4,487	Hong Kong	3,279	Japan	2,168
Venezuela	9,860	Thailand	6,250	Thailand	4,372	Korea	2,604	Philipines	1,722
Saudi Arabia	9,540	Japan	5,930	U.K.	4,216	Philipines	2,473	Mexico	1,356
India	8,760	Mexico	4,000	Japan	4,156	U.K.	1,959	Venezuela	1,126
Thailand	6,500	Korea	3,390	Korea	3,991	Thailand	1,630	Greece	1,095
Lebanon	6,040	Pakistan	3,140	Philipines	2,782	Cuba	1,565	Thailand	1,006
Mexico	5,650	U.K.	2,770	(F.R.) Germany	2,634	Greece	1,543	U.K.	993
Vietnam	5,050	Venezuela	2,680	Mexico	2,501	Israel	1,539	Cuba	935
Korea	4,890	Israel	2,390	Israel	2,288	Germany	1,504	Jamaica	902
Jordan	4,720	Colombia	2,380	Colombia	2,045	Nigeria	1,382	Turkey	835
All countries	286,340		154,580		134,959		82,045		48,486

Source: Open Door, I.I.E., Washington, D.C.

students decreased from 29% in 1954-55 to 14% in 1979-80 (see Table G13). Except for Canada and Japan, all the leading countries of foreign students belonged to the Third World (under dependent capitalist development), and the U.S. immigration laws, as practiced, took full advantage of the dominant intention of these foreign students to become permanent residents in the U.S. The proportion of foreign students with J-visas has decreased, and more than four-fifths of all foreign students in 1979-80 had F-visas (student visas), thereby increasing the likelihood of more adjustments to immigrant status in the U.S. Even when some of these foreign students go back to their respective home countries, their specific (economic and political) role in their native societies and the influence of their ideology, partly shaped and strengthened in the U.S., often reinforce the basic conditions for emigration.

The expansion of the higher educational system in the U.S. was greatly facilitated by the influx of foreign students, besides using the services of many foreign teaching assistants and research fellows at a low level of compensation. As a matter of fact, about 39% of all Ph.D. degrees in engineering, 21% in physical science, 16% in life science, and 18% in social science (excluding psychology) were awarded to foreign students in 1971-80 (U.S. Stat. Abstracts). Out of about 322,000 doctorate degrees awarded in 1971-80 about 49,500 recipients were foreign citizens - 11,600 in engineering, 10,000 in physical science, 6,000 in biological science, and 5,000 in social science. In 1980 more than 46% of all engineering Ph.D.'s were foreigners! In 1979 about one-fifth of all Ph.D's in business management, one-fifth of all Ph.D.'s in computer science and information, one-fourth of all master's degrees in engineering were awarded to foreign students (U.S. Stat. Abstract). It is interesting to note that more than 30% of all students in Texas Southern University, 23% in the University of Southern California, 18% in M.I.T., 16% in Howard

University, 12% in Columbia University, 10% in Stanford University, 9% in Harvard University were foreigners in 1979-80.

It is worth noting that more than four-fifths of all foreign students in U.S. colleges and universities were either self-supported or supported by the respective home government or foreign private sponsors in 1979-80; about 9% were supported by U.S. colleges and universities, and only 2% by the U.S. government. On the other hand, about 18% of foreign students were supported fully or partly by U.S. colleges and universities and about 40% by personal family funds or the respective home governments in 1970-71. The monetary and academic contributions of foreign students not only help to sustain and develop the higher educational system in the U.S., but also by absorbing many foreign students into the U.S. economy the cost of reproduction of professional labor power is greatly reduced.

3. Relative Preferences.

The second characteristic of the 1965 Act is to provide opportunities to U.S. citizens and permanent residents to bring their close relatives to the U.S. as immigrants. Originally 74% of the total quota for the Eastern Hemisphere were allocated to four different types of relative preference. Residents of the Western Hemisphere were admitted on the "first come first served" basis until 1976, with the total quota being set at 120,000. After 1976 the preference quotas have become applicable to both the Hemispheres, and after 1978 both the Hemispheres were combined under a single world-wide quota of 290,000. The 1980 Refugee Act put the seventh preference under a separate category, exempt from numerical limitation quota, and the share of the relative preferences was raised to 80% (with a corresponding increase

under the second preference) with a world-wide ceiling of 270,000. It may be noted that thousands of immigrants were admitted to the U.S. under the category entitled "Immediate Relatives", which includes the children, spouse and parents of a citizen of the U.S. The "Special Immigrants" category, also exempt from numerical limitation, is reserved for returning permanent residents from a temporary visit abroad, reacquisition of citizenship, ministers of religious denominations and their families, and employees of the U.S. Government abroad.

Apparently, the objective of the relative preferences is to facilitate family reunions. However, it may be noted that to only one-fourth of PTK immigrants admitted during 1966-77 were occupational preferences applied; as a matter of fact, a large fraction of immigrant S|E and PS were admitted under different relative preferences. In general, relative preferences were used to admit immigrant workers, not necessarily following a specified plan, to maintain a definite occupational structure of the immigrants.

However, relative preferences were mostly used by early immigrants (Europeans) in the first phase 1966-75, and later by Latin Americans and Asians. So, an occupational pattern of the immigrants admitted under relative preferences ensued. For example, most of the close relatives of the emigrants from Latin American countries would contribute to the pool of blue-collar immigrants, whereas most of the close relatives of Indians, Filipinos, British or Canadians admitted under relative preferences would be white-collar. It may be noted that two-thirds to three-fourths of the total quota under occupational preferences were used to admit Asian immigrants. However, in future, non-PTK workers would emigrate to

Table G16: Number of Immigrants Admitted to the U.S. Under Different Preferences, 1966-77: From Europe, Asia and India.

Country/Region	Total admitted annual average (in thousands)	Percentage distribution								
		Relative preferences			Occupational preference				7th preference	Non-preference
		Total	2nd	5th	Total	3rd	6th	S&C		
Eastern Hemisphere	159.2	55.3	20.9	28.9	17.2	5.2	4.0	8.0	5.6	22.0
Europe	81.7	58.2	16.9	38.4	8.9	0.6	4.1	4.2	7.5	25.3
Asia	71.3	53.2	25.9	23.4	26.5	10.7	3.7	12.2	3.3	17.0
India	10.7	32.3	20.7	11.3	32.4	14.1	5.8	12.5	0.3	35.1

Source: I.N.S. Annual Reports, U.S. Government.

Table G17: Percentage Distributions of the Number of Immigrants Admitted to the U.S. into Different Regions Under Different Preference Categories, 1966-79.

Region	1966-77				1978				1979			
	Total	Relative	Occup.	Nonpref.	Total	Rel.	Occup.	Nonpref.	Total	Rel.	Occup.	Nonpref.
Eastern Hemisphere	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	58.3	56.8	76.8	3.1
Europe	51.3	54.1	26.6	59.2	30.7	28.1	29.7	24.0	15.0	12.8	27.0	0.5
Asia	44.8	43.1	68.7	34.6	63.7	66.5	63.2	68.0	39.2	40.2	42.2	2.2
Western Hemisphere					100	100	100	100	41.7	43.2	23.2	96.9
N. America excluding Canada					43.0	69.2	21.3	26.7	26.1	31.8	9.2	3.6
	Intrapreference distribution				100.0	55.8	9.0	32.1	100.0	76.5	13.5	5.4

Source : I.N.S. Annual Reports, U.S. Government

the U.S. by appealing to relative preferences for Asian permanent residents or U.S. citizens of Asian origin, unless such an influx is blocked by a new law.

Data for 1966-77 reveal that only 17.2% of the total quota for the Eastern Hemisphere were allocated under occupational preferences, and 55.3% under relative preferences so the role of the nonpreference category was significant, and about 22% of all immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere were admitted under this category; it was applied to more than one-third of all Indian immigrants admitted. The operational guideline for using the nonpreference category is rather flexible. It seems that the unused quotas of other preferences (especially the first preference) were used under the nonpreference category in order to admit persons with special skills and occupations as well as persons from selected countries following the needs of U.S. capital and the guidelines of the U.S. foreign policy.

During 1966-78 more than two-thirds of the quota for occupational preferences were used to admit Asian immigrants. In 1979 only 13.5 percent of all immigrants were admitted under occupational preferences, and two-fifths of this quota were applied to Asian immigrants.

4. Refugee Acts.

The third aspect of the U.S. immigration laws is the provisions and measures for admitting thousands of immigrant workers as "refugees". "Of more than three million immigrants who came to the United States between 1946 and 1959, approximately 700,000 were displaced persons and refugees" (persons displaced by World War II or persons who fled from the socialist countries in Europe). The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 charged the refugees against existing immigration quotas, while the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 admitted them outside the quota system. Since 1956, the Attorney General's parole authority was used in a large scale to bring refugees to the U.S. (7) The seventh preference of the

1965 Immigration Act was designed to admit 10,200 people annually from the Eastern Hemisphere as "conditional entrant" refugees (from "communist" and Middle Eastern countries); about 99,000 people were admitted during 1966-77 under this preference. With the enactment of legislation in 1976 and 1978, conditional entry (as refugees) became available to 17,400 refugees annually without restriction to hemisphere of birth. However, a special parole program had to be introduced in order to accomodate the large-scale influx of Cubans after the fall of the Batista government in 1959. The fall of the South Vietnamese regime caused another large flow of "refugees", and again a special parole was introduced to admit thousands of Indochinese "refugees". "Parole has also been used to admit detainees and political prisoners from South America who were not eligible for conditional entry, and to admit additional refugees from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe over and above the limits on conditional entry. In Fiscal Year 1978, over 60,000 refugee admissions were authorized--more than two-thirds of these by parole" (7).

The 1980 Refugee Act broadened the definition of "refugee" (more in line with the definition of refugee in the U.N.), and included annual admission of 50,000 refugees of "special concern" to the United States; however, the President was given the authority to raise this limit if necessary, following consultation with the Congress. In Fiscal Year 1981, the refugee quota was 217,000, and in 1982 it is 173,000. (7)

About 11% of all immigrants were admitted under various Refugee Acts during 1970-79. Of the 472,500 refugees admitted during this period, about 68,000 were Europeans, 109,000 Vietnamese, and 252,000 Cubans. The following table gives the number of refugees admitted as immigrants from the major countries.

Table G18: Immigrants Admitted as Permanent Residents under Refugee Acts, by Country/Region of birth, 1970-79.

Country/Region	Number of Refugees admitted (in thousands)	Percentage
All countries	472.5	100.0
Europe	68.0	14.4
Czechoslovakia	5.7	1.2
Hungary	4.5	1.0
Poland	5.5	1.2
Romania	6.4	1.4
U.S.S.R.	21.6	4.6
Yugoslavia	14.6	3.1

Country/Region	Number of Refugees admitted (in thousands)	Percentage
Asia	147.7	31.3
China	12.1	2.6
Kampuchea	5.0	1.0
Laos	7.7	1.6
Vietnam	108.6	23.0
North America	253.5	53.6
Cuba	252.2	53.4
South America	0.8	0.2
Africa	2.5	0.5

Source: Annual Reports of the I.N.S., U.S. Government.

Various Refugee Acts and paroles made provisions to admit "necessary" workers as refugees. For example, during 1965-79 about 37,400 PTK workers (6% of all PTK immigrants admitted in this period) emigrated from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia to the U.S. as refugees. It may be noted, that except for Yugoslavia the proportion of PTK workers among all immigrants from each of the above countries varied from 16% to 21%. The details are given in the Table G19. It was mentioned that between 1958 and 1979 about 35,000 Cuban PTK workers had emigrated to the U.S. Besides these PTK workers, Cuban refugees contributed significantly to the pool of blue-collar immigrant workers. During 1966-79 about 3.8% of all PTK immigrants, 6.9% of white-collar immigrants (about

Table G19: Number of Immigrants and PTK Immigrants to the U.S. from Selected Socialist Countries, 1965-79 (in thousands).

Country (by birth)	1975-79		1970-74		1965-69		1965-79		
	Total Number	Number of PTK	Total Number	Number of PTK	Total Number	Number of PTK	Total Number	Number of PTK	% of PTK
Czechoslovakia	3.2	0.7	10.3	1.9	9.7	1.9	23.2	4.5	(19.7%)
Hungary	4.4	0.8	7.9	1.4	9.1	1.6	21.4	3.8	(17.6%)
Poland	21.2	2.9	20.1	5.7	33.9	3.1	75.2	11.7	(15.6%)
Rumania	8.9	2.0	7.9	1.9	9.3	1.5	26.2	5.4	(20.9%)
U.S.S.R	26.8	5.6	4.9	0.9	6.3	0.9	38.0	7.3	(19.4%)
Yugoslavia	13.9	1.0	34.0	1.9	28.1	1.7	76.0	4.7	(6.1%)

Note : Peak years: Czechoslovakia - 1970; Hungary - 1968; Poland - 1966, 1973; Rumania - 1967, 1976; U.S.S.R. - 1976; Yugoslavia - 1969.

Source: Annual Reports of the I.N.S., U.S. Government.

69,600 out of 1 million), and 9.1% of blue-collar immigrants (120,000 out of 1.3 million) were Cubans. During the two-year period 1978-79 about 42,000 Vietnamese workers (those declaring some occupations) were admitted to the U.S. as immigrants, of whom about 6,000 were PTK workers, 14,500 were white-collar, and 21,500 were blue-collar workers.

The basic intent of all the Refugee Acts is to sustain and promote the rule of capital (both economically and ideologically), and U.S. capital, in particular. Many deviations from the Socialist path of development in the socialist countries may be responsible for some degree of frustration and desperation in those societies; nevertheless, various anti-socialist forces still present in these societies along with external disrupting forces arising from the capitalist world led by the U.S. are primarily responsible for the emigration of people from the socialist countries to the U.S. which has become the principal haven for these "refugees".

These Refugee Acts do not recognize numerous workers and peasants seeking refuge from economic exploitation and political tyranny in South Korea, Taiwan, the Philipines, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, most of the countries in South America and South Africa. By the end of 1980, 125,000 Cubans and 15,000 Haitians had sought refuge in the U.S., but many thousands of Haitians were refused admission and some were detained in camps.

Although the definition of 'refugee' has been broadened in the recent U.S. Refugee Act, various U.S. extradition laws are still being used to deny refuge to Irish nationalists, and silence political dissenters in Filipino and Arab-American communities. The extradition process acts as an integral part of a policy of aggressive support for repressive U.S. allies in the Third World (Guardian, July 14, 1982).

5. Countries of Origin of Immigrants to the U.S.

First let us note the change in the distribution of immigrants to the U.S. with respect to their nationalities, resulting from the 1965 U.S. Immigration Act and subsequent modifications and additions.

Table G20: Number of Immigrants Admitted to the U.S., 1951-79: Selected Regions.

Country/Region (by birth)	1951-60	1961-65	1966-68	1969-77	1978	1979
Total-all countries Annual average (in thousands)	251.5	290.1	379.8	392.7	601.4	460.3
Percentage distribution						
All countries	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Europe	59.3	42.8	35.8	22.9	12.2	13.2
Asia	6.2	7.4	13.7	31.0	41.5	41.1
Canada	10.9	12.0	7.0	2.8	2.8	3.0
N. America excl. Canada	19.7	28.9	36.5	34.7	33.9	31.2
S. America	2.9	8.2	5.6	5.9	6.9	7.7
Oceania	0.2	0.8	1.1	0.8	0.7	1.0
Africa	0.6	0.9	1.1	1.8	1.9	2.8

More than 29% of all immigrants admitted during 1966-79 were exempt from numerical limitation. But even if one considers the immigrants admitted under numerical limitation then it is easy to see how the preference quotas, as practiced, has changed the distribution of country-origins of immigrants over the last thirty years. Over four-fifths of the immigrants admitted in 1979 came from the so called underdeveloped countries. Twelve topmost nationalities, comprising 60% of all immigrants admitted during 1970-79 correspond to the following countries (in decreasing order): Mexico, Philipines, Cuba, Korea, China and Taiwan, India, Italy, Dominican Republic, Jamaica, U.K., Portugal and Greece. What are the similarities, if any, among these twelve countries? Some authors (see Part III) have attempted to find simple causal links to account for the inter-country variation in the number of immigrants to the U.S. It appears from Table G21 that Greece and Portugal are quite "similar" with respect to their population as well as to the number of emigrants to the U.S. On the other hand, population of Hong Kong and Haiti are more or less the same, so are the population of Canada and Yugoslavia, or Poland and Korea, but these countries vary a lot with respect to the number of emigrants to the U.S., besides of course, their intrinsic differences and relative positions in the prevailing world-order. Per-capita GNP in Mexico as well as in the U.K. are both greater than that in India; however, per-capita emigration rate to the U.S. was much smaller for India in comparison to those in Mexico and the U.K. Comparisons among the per-capita emigration rates in the U.K., Germany and Japan and relating these rates to the per-capita GNP's of the respective countries do not lead to any definite pattern. The fact of the matter is that different forces have influenced the emigration to the U.S. from different countries in varying

Table G21. Number of Immigrants to the U.S., 1970-79: Populations in 1970 and 1980; Selected Regions/Countries.

Country/Region (by birth)	Total Immigrants (in thousands)	Mid-year Population (in mill.)	
		1970	1980
All Countries	4,335.8		
Europe	847.3 (19.5)		
Germany(F.R.)	69.1	60.6	61.6
Greece	105.4	8.8	9.3
Italy	149.7	53.7	57.0
Poland	42.3	32.6	35.4
Portugal	109.2	8.7	9.8
U.K.	122.2	55.4	55.9
U.S.S.R.	33.4	242.8	266.5
Yugoslavia	48.6	20.4	22.3
Asia	1,490.6 (34.4)		
China & Taiwan	189.1	14.5	17.7
Hong Kong	47.6	4.0	5.1
India	164.2	538.9	663.6
Iran	37.6	28.7	37.7
Israel	25.0	2.9	3.9
Japan	45.9	104.3	117.0
Jordan	28.4	2.3	2.3
Korea (South)	248.9	31.3	37.4
Philipines	349.2	36.9	47.9
Thailand	41.7	36.2	46.4
Vietnam	137.4		52.3

Country/Region (by birth	Total Immigrants (in thousands)	Mid-year Population (in mill.)	
		1970	1980
South America	266.7 (6.2)		
Argentina	25.7	23.2	27.9
Brazil	14.0	93.3	123.0
Colombia	72.9	21.1	27.3
Ecuador	48.4	6.0	8.4
Guyana	40.9	0.7	0.9
Peru	25.8	13.6	17.8
Africa	85.4 (2.0)	354.0	448.0
Egypt	27.4	29.5	42.0
Canada	115.0 (2.6)	21.3	23.9
N. America excl. Canada	1,494.3 (34.5)		
Cuba	278.1	8.5	9.7
Dom. Republic	141.6	4.1	5.4
Haiti	58.9	4.2	5.0
Jamaica	138.1	1.9	2.2
Mexico	625.1	48.9	67.4
Trinidad & Tobago	63.9	1.0	1.1
Oceania	35.6 (0.8)	19.0	22.6

Note: Figures in the brackets indicate percentages of the total.

Source: Annual Reports of the I.N.S., U.S. Government. Book of the Year, Annual Issues, Encyclopedia Britanica.

degrees, resulting into wide variation in the number as well as occupational and demographic composition of emigrants from different countries. No simple static or even dynamic numerical indices would be adequate to explain this variation. We shall discuss this point in Part III.

If one considers the ratio of the number of emigrants from any given country to the U.S. during 1970-79 to its average population during this period, then the top contributing countries seem to cluster into three groups (in decreasing order) as follows:

Group 1. Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, Cuba, Dominican Republic.

Group 2. Jordan, Haiti, Portugal, Greece, China and Taiwan (considered as Taiwan), Mexico, Hong Kong.

Group 3. Philipines, Israel, Korea, Ecuador, Canada.

All the countries in Group 1 are geographically close to the United States and all except Cuba are undergoing the dependent mode of capitalist development. Moreover, the U.S. immigration laws and restrictions were applied to each of these countries (except for Cuba) more or less the same way. But this kind of argument breaks down when we try to find similarities among the countries in Group 2 or Group 3. Even when we consider the countries in Group 1, we find that not only is there a good deal of variation among the occupational structures of the emigrants from these countries, but also the modes and levels of social and economic development in these countries are not the same. The pooled effect of different forces may be responsible for these clusters, and the complex process leading to this similarity needs to be analysed much more carefully so as to detect any degree of spuriousness.

Nevertheless, the U.S. immigration laws, arising from the interests

of U.S. captial in relation to the prevailing world order, did shape the different characteristic features of the influx of immigrants to the U.S. Since the emigration of Indians to the U.S. was very much restricted before 1965, a large majority of Indian immigrants were admitted under occupational preferences or the non-preference category in the early 1970's, and subsequently even the chain reaction could not significantly lower the proportion of PTK or white-collar workers among Indian immigrants. On the other hand, although the proportion of PTK or white collar workers in India is still small, the absolute number of these workers far exceed those in any other country in the Third World as well as in European countries (except the U.S.S.R.) and Canada. Moreover, the growth of higher education in India was accompanied by appreciable growth of educational and cultural links between the elite groups in India and the U.S. ruling circles. Indian peasants, in spite of their miserable living condition, do not even think of emigrating to the U.S., since this emigration process has not yet been realized in their communities. Nevertheless, the distance (along with the cost of transportation) between India and the U.S. is perhaps also responsible for the neglible proportion of blue-collar workers among Indian immigrants. It may be noted that the commonwealth relationship between India and Canada, along with the chain reactions historically developed, led to many more blue-collar Indians, especially from Punjab, to emigrate to Canada. But the forces of emigration have been developed in India, as in the other contributing countries, by the failure or the (historical) limitation of capitalist development, and the migration process has been shaped by the relative degrees and trends of the accumulation of captial (and industrialization) in various nation-states within the capitalist world.

6. Occupations of Immigrants to the U.S.

The major effect of the 1965 Act has been a significant increase in the proportion as well as the number of white-collar immigrants, especially PTK workers, to the U.S. Similar change can also be seen in the structure of the U.S. labor force. White-collar immigrants did come from the traditional contributing countries like the U.K., Germany and Canada, but in much more increasing numbers from the Philipines, India, China and Taiwan, Korea, the West Indies, as well as from East European socialist countries and Cuba, in particular.

Still the majority of immigrant workers admitted during 1966-79 were blue-collar, and still the low-level, low-wage jobs have to be filled by these new immigrants. About 46% of all blue-collar immigrants admitted during 1966-79 came from Central America, Mexico and the Caribbean region (one-sixth from Mexico alone), and the European contribution was only 28%--mainly from Italy, Greece and Portugal. It may be noted that about two-thirds of Cuban immigrant workers admitted during 1966-79, and also about two-thirds of Vietnamese immigrant workers admitted in the two-year period 1978-79 were listed as blue-collar. Two facts are worth mentioning in this connection. Firstly the rate of social and economic mobility in the U.S. population has considerably decreased in comparison to the rate after World War II; moreover, these rates are far from uniform in different racial or ethnic communities. Secondly, the distribution of wealth in the U.S. has not changed significantly in the last thirty years (see U.S. Statistical Abstract).

Tables G21 and G22 reveal the occupational structure of the immigrant workers admitted during 1966-79. As mentioned in Part I, occupations of immigrants admitted to the U.S. are simply the declared occupations at the

Table G22: Occupational Distribution of Immigrants to the U.S., White-collar Occupations, 1966-79: Selected Countries/Regions*

Regions/Countries (by birth)	Percentage Distribution						% of white-collar immigrants among all immigrants with occupations
	Total Immigrants	Total Immigrants with Occupations	White-collar Occupations				
			PTK	MA	SW	CK	
All countries	100.0	100.0 (100.0)	100.0 (25.3)	100.0 (6.3)	100.0 (2.3)	100.0 (10.0)	43.9
Europe	23.3	26.0	22.0	23.1	26.4	25.6	39.3
Germany	2.2	1.8	2.0	1.9	4.6	4.6	65.6
U.K.	3.6	3.9	5.9	5.8	5.9	7.4	70.7
Asia	29.6	27.6	50.7	39.4	26.9	25.5	67.0
China & Taiwan	4.3	4.9	7.0	9.8	5.2	4.5	61.0
India	3.1	3.7	11.2	3.8	2.3	2.0	90.4
Japan	1.0	0.7	1.1	1.6	1.0	1.0	67.5
Korea	4.5	2.9	5.1	5.8	2.5	2.7	68.8
Philipines	6.9	7.2	15.3	6.2	5.4	6.4	70.1
Canada	3.6	3.3	4.8	5.6	6.4	4.9	67.5
N. America excl. Canada	34.7	34.2	12.5	22.5	31.6	32.8	25.2
Cuba	7.6	8.1	3.8	7.9	15.5	11.4	36.5
Mexico	13.7	11.3	1.5	4.2	5.2	3.8	10.2
Jamaica	3.2	4.0	2.3	3.2	3.4	5.4	34.8
Africa	1.8	2.1	4.2	2.8	2.5	2.7	74.6
South America	6.1	6.1	4.6	5.6	5.1	7.2	38.5
Oceania	0.8	0.8	1.2	1.0	1.1	1.4	66.6

Total number of immigrants with occupations, 1966-79 = 2,388,563

Total number of immigrants, 1966-79 = 5,834,038
*Includes the transition quarter July 1 - Sept. 30, 1976

Source: I.N.S. Annual Reports, U.S. Government.

time of entry to the U.S., and these stated occupations may not depict the correct picture. Firstly, stated occupations are subjected to individual

Table G23: Occupational Distribution of Immigrants Admitted to the U.S., 1966-79; Blue-collar Occupations, Selected Countries/Region of Origin.

Country-Region	Total immigrants	Total immigrants with occup.	Blue-collar Immigrants								Percentage of blue-collar immigrants among all immig. with occupations
			Total	Craftsmen and Kindred	Operatives	Laborers except farm	Farmers and farm managers	Farm laborers and foremen	Service workers except household	Private household workers	
Total (in thousands) - all countries	5,730.3	2,348.7 (100)	1,318.5 (56.1)	308.0 (13.1)	328.2 (14.0)	200.8 (8.5)	22.4 (1.0)	90.2 (3.8)	209.2 (8.9)	159.7 (6.8)	56.1
Percentage distribution											
All countries	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Europe	23.4	26.1	28.2	36.7	23.0	22.6	64.4	42.8	25.5	19.4	60.7
Greece	2.7	3.1	4.5	5.7	4.5	1.9	16.4	6.2	4.9	2.4	81.4
Italy	4.3	4.4	6.8	9.6	5.1	8.8	21.0	10.1	3.8	2.7	86.4
Portugal	2.8	2.7	4.3	4.0	2.4	5.0	12.0	12.4	2.1	4.9	88.0
Asia	29.5	27.5	16.2	15.1	15.2	11,3	16.0	19.3	24.9	13.4	33.1
China & Taiwan	4.3	4.8	3.4	1.8	3.6	2.0	1.4	2.3	8.7	1.6	39.2
Korea	4.5	2.8	1.6	2.6	1.7	0.4	0.4	1.1	2.0	0.7	31.0
Philipines	6.9	7.1	3.8	2.3	2.1	1.8	8.5	10.4	3.0	9.1	29.7
Canada	3.7	3.3	1.9	2.8	1.6	2.7	1.0	0.5	2.2	0.6	32.7
N. America excl. Canada	34.7	34.2	45.5	35.1	49.6	60.0	16.9	34.8	38.5	58.1	74.8
Cuba	7.6	8.1	9.1	7.4	17.7	8.8	0.6	0.6	9.0	1.4	63.2
Dominican Republic	3.3	2.9	4.1	3.0	4.7	3.3	5.1	6.5	2.2	7.4	79.7
Mexico	13.7	11.2	18.0	9.8	12.8	43.7	7.9	24.6	15.1	13.6	89.8
S. America	6.1	6.1	6.7	8.5	9.4	1.8	0.7	1.6	6.9	7.4	61.7

* Excludes the transition quarter July 1 - Sept. 30, 1976 (Immigrant Blue-Collar Workers 20,846 in TQ 1976).

Sources: I.N.S. Annual Reports, U.S. Government.

biases. Secondly, the actual occupations of immigrant workers in the U.S. may not agree with the declared occupations. As reported in NSF 81-311, about 15% of employed S|E were working in non-S|E jobs in 1978, some voluntarily and some involuntarily. Many new immigrant PTK workers, especially scientists, engineers and even physicians and surgeons were forced to accept low-paying low-level jobs, unrelated to their knowledge and experiences. For example, an immigrant engineer in the U.S. was forced to work in an assembly-line or even as a dish-washer in a restaurant. I have also seen an immigrant physician working as a laboratory technician, and an immigrant scientist as a farm-worker. It is to be noted that immigrant S|E were admitted in large numbers to the U.S. even during the periods of recession, and even when the unemployment rate among U.S. scientists and engineers was not negligible. For example, 3.7% of U.S. scientists with Master's degrees, 3.5% of scientists with Bachelor's degrees and 3% of engineers in the labor force were unemployed in 1971. In 1976 the S|E unemployment rate was 3%, and it dropped to 1.4% in the period 1978-80. In particular, according to the NSF estimate, 34,400 S|E including 16,600 engineers were seeking employment in 1978. However, unemployment rates varied considerably among various fields of science and engineering. Nevertheless, the immigration of S|E was continued in large numbers. This aspect of the U.S. immigration policy was nakedly revealed in the case of blue-collar immigrants. Millions of workers were admitted to the U.S. in spite of high rate of unemployment in the labor force, since workers' right to work has not found any place in the U.S. Constitution. Even when the unemployment rates went down, many immigrants did not get jobs appropriate to their qualifications; discrimination against non-white immigrants is well known.

Thirdly, many immigrants admitted as dependents (spouses and children, especially) later got engaged into various types of jobs, voluntarily as well as involuntarily. Wives of some Asian immigrants were able to become PTK workers after studying in U.S. colleges and universities, but a large percentage of these wives became engaged in low-paying jobs. It is of interest to note that the proportion of Cubans or Vietnamese among the prostitutes in the U.S. has risen considerably.

The number of immigrant S|E is often compared with the corresponding number in the U.S. labor force. But it is to be noted that not only the majority of immigrant S|E were relatively young at the time of entry, but also the academic qualifications (and experiences in some cases) of immigrant S|E were generally much better than the average level in the corresponding labor force. Detailed data on these two aspects are not available. However, the following tables would partly illustrate our points.

Table G24: Age Distribution of Immigrant Scientists and Engineers to the U.S.; from All Countries and Asia, Selected Years.

Age	Percentage distribution							
	1970		1976		1977		1978	
	All regions	Asia	All regions	Asia	All regions	Asia	All regions	Asia
Under 30	49	54	43.5	48.4	39.6	46.5	39.8	46.4
30-44	46	42	47.5	45.3	49.5	44.8	49.8	45.2
45 and over	5	4	9.0	6.3	10.9	8.7	10.4	8.4

Source: NSF 72-312, 80-324.

Note: It may be noted that in 1978 about 23.7% of S|E in the U.S. labor force were less than 30 years old, and 39.9% were between 30-44 years.

In 1970 out of about 23,000 foreign-born scientists in the U.S. whose

secondary graduation occured abroad about 14,300 had doctorate degrees, and in the subgroup of Asians the percentage of doctorate degree holders was 66.8.

Table G25: Scientists and Engineers in the U.S. by field and "Race": 1978.

Field	Total		Doctorates		% of doctorates among		
	% Asian	% Black	% Asian	% Black	Total	Asian	Black
S|E - all fields	2.0	1.5	5.0	1.4	11.6	30.0	10.5
Engineers	1.9	0.8	11.0	2.0	3.5	20.0	8.8
Physical Scientists	2.2	1.4	5.5	1.1	25.6	63.2	18.9
Math. Scientists	1.8	2.8	4.9	0.6	15.0	40.0	3.3
Life Scientists	1.8	2.0	4.1	1.2	25.2	57.6	14.9
Social Scientists (excl. Psychology)	2.6	5.4	3.5	1.6	23.5	31.5	7.3

Source: NSF 80-304.

In 1979, out of about 313,700 doctorate S|E employed in the U.S., 6.9% were Asians and only 1.1% were "Blacks". According to the NSF estimate there were about 27,000 Asian engineers, 14,300 Asian natural scientists, 5,500 Asian social scientists and 6,900 Asian computer specialists in the U.S. (NSF 80-304). It may be recalled that during 1966-78 about 48,000 engineers, 15,400 natural scientists and 3,000 social scientists emigrated from Asia to the U.S. The NSF estimate of the number of Asian engineers in 1978 seems to suggest that the rate of emigration of Asian engineers from the U.S. was very high. The reliability of this NSF estimate does appear to be quite low.

7. Nonimmigrant workers in the U.S.

There are other devices for the supply of foreign workers to the U.S.

besides immigration. Thousands of foreign workers are admitted each year as exchange visitors, temporary workers and trainees, laborers under special labor certifications, and "illegal aliens", although the last group of workers are not admitted officially so far as the formal government approval is concerned.

Between 1967 and 1977 about 115,000 nonimmigrant foreign workers (under Sec. 101 (a) (15) (H), (J) and (L)) were admitted to the U.S. annually, on the average; this group included students with visas other than F. More than one-third of these workers were listed as PTK, and about 22,000 as laborers. Besides this, thousands of foreign laborers were admitted annually under special labor certification, although this number gradually decreased from 47,000 in 1970 to 18,000 in 1979. It is also worth mentioning that the total contribution of foreign teaching assistants, research assistants, and research fellows (admitted under student visas) to the U.S. economy is not negligible. Some characteristics of nonimmigrants are given in the Tables G26 and G27.

In 1978 about 4,600 nonimmigrant S|E were admitted to the U.S.; almost 60% of them came from Europe and Canada, and 15% from Asia. More than half of these S|E were engineers, and about 6% were computer specialists.

On the average, about 5,900 nonimmigrant S|E were admitted to the U.S. annually during 1976-78; 46.4% of these S|E were exchange visitors, 31.6% were intra-company transferees, and only 6.8% were industrial trainees.

Most of the nonimmigrant physicians and surgeons, natural scientists, and teachers were admitted under exchange visitor category; however, most of the exchange visitors were students. On the other hand, a significant proportion of nonimmigrant engineers and a large majority of nonimmigrant managers and administrators were inter-company transferees (L visas) - potential candidates for adjustments to immigrant status.

Table G26: Number of Students, Exchange Visitors, Temporary Workers and Trainees as Nonimmigrants to the U.S.: 1966-1979.

Country/Region and nonimmigrant status	1966-69		1970-73		1974-77		1978		1979
	Annual average	%	Annual average	%	Annual average	%	Number	%	Number
Students:									
All regions	70,749	100.0	94,869	100.0	123,171	100.0	187,030	100.0	106,977
Europe	7,036	9.95	10,208	10.76	12,314	10.00	20,261	10.83	13,644
Asia	18,130	25.64	31,720	33.44	49,526	40.21	88.684	47.42	46,045
India	3,426	4.84	4,489	4.73	2,987	2.42	2,945	1.57	1,098
Africa	1,897	2.68	4,319	4.55	8,418	6.83	11,267	6.02	6,426
Oceania	1,570	2.22	2,476	2.61	3,412	2.77	3,614	1.93	1,703
Canada	14,466	20.46	11,642	12.27	10,842	8.80	10,643	5.69	6,379
N. America excl. Canada	19,109	27.02	22,807	24.04	25,946	21.06	30,836	16.49	17,897
S. America	8,508	12.03	11,729	12.36	12,712	10.32	31,725	11.62	14,883
Exchange Visitors:									
All regions	41,594	100.0	49,548	100.0	47,975	100.0	53,319	100.0	30,644
Europe	16,574	39.85	23,743	47.92	20,485	42.70	23,415	43.91	13,476
Asia	11,566	27.81	11,277	22.76	10,284	21.44	11,805	22.14	6,018
India	2,178	5.24	1,866	3.81	1,023	2.13	884	1.66	570
Africa	2,626	6.31	2,544	5.34	3,277	6.83	5,980	11.22	2,246
Oceania	954	2.29	1,332	2.69	1,560	3.25	1,845	3.46	1,408
Canada	1,159	2.79	1,465	2.96	1,684	3.51	1,486	2.79	1,193
N. America excl. Canada	2,437	5.86	2,698	5.44	2,526	5.26	2,427	4.55	2,890
S. America	6,276	15.09	6,389	12.89	8,146	16.98	6,847	12.84	3,413
Temporary Workers and Trainees:									
All regions	69,445	100.0	63,585	100.0	52,800	100.0	42,979	100.0	32,942
Europe	8,765	12.62	10,538	16.57	9,363	17.73	9,927	23.10	9,149
Asia	1,558	2.24	4,994	7.85	6,720	12.73	6,516	15.16	4,508
India	132	0.19	193	0.30	231	0.44	275	0.64	209
Africa	151	0.22	308	0.48	411	0.78	409	0.95	325
Oceania	290	0.42	597	0.94	566	1.07	660	1.54	338
N. America excl. Canada	22,105	31.83	18,299	28.78	11,729	22.21	8,215	19.11	11,171
S. America	625	0.90	1,043	1.64	1,438	2.72	1,414	3.29	1,041

Source: Annual Reports of the I.N.S., U.S. Government.

It is estimated that about 5-6 million workers called "illegal aliens" are still living in the U.S., and most of them are Mexican. About 28,000-30,000 people were deported from the U.S. annually during 1976-78, and most of them were "illegal aliens". It is to be noted that thousands of Mexican

Table G27: Temporary Workers Admitted to the U.S. under H, J and L Visas, 1967-79*: By Major Occupations (Annual average in thousands)

Occupation	1967-69	1970	1971-74	1975-77	1978	1979
All occupations	111.0	136.7	114.6	112.4	117.8	80.0
PTK - total	33.6	44.3	50.0	43.0	40.0	35.5
Accountants & Auditors					0.4	0.2
Computer Specialists					0.3	0.2
Engineers	2.0	2.1	1.8	3.3	2.6	1.7
Registered Nurses	1.6	1.2	2.2	2.2	2.9	2.3
Physicians & Surgeons	5.4	5.4	5.0	3.0	1.2	0.5
Natural Scientists	2.1	2.5	1.4	1.8	1.3	0.9
Social Scientists	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.4	0.2
Teachers - Colleges & Universities	2.8	2.5	1.7	2.4	1.4	0.5
Technicians	0.8	1.9	0.7	0.8	0.5	0.3
Managers & Administrators (excl. farm)	2.2	1.8	0.8	14.2	20.4	14.0
Sales Workers	0.4	0.9	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.2
Clerical & Kindred	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.2
Craftsmen	7.2	11.7	5.1	3.7	3.0	1.9
Operatives	2.9	3.3	1.5	1.2	0.5	0.4
Laborers excl. farm	15.0	14.4	6.9	4.2	1.6	0.8
Farmers & Farm Managers	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.1	**	**
Farm Laborers	16.7	17.4	10.4	10.9	8.4	1.7
Service Workers	3.0	3.5	2.6	1.7	0.7	0.9
Private Household Workers	3.7	3.6	1.1	0.8	0.4	0.7
Students	22.3	32.4	27.4	31.4	42.1	23.6
(as % of all non-immigrant students)	(22.7)	(24.8)	(21.9)	(19.7)	(18.4)	(18.1)

Sources: Annual Reports, I.N.S., U.S. Government.

*Excludes TQ, 1976.

**Insignificant

agricultural laborers were employed in the U.S. as temporary workers under PL 78 from 1949 until 1964; in particular, over 400,000 such Mexican workers were temporarily imported in 1960's. Workers called "illegal aliens" not

only contribute their labor power to the growth of U.S. economy, but also the exploitation of these workers deemed to be necessary in order to generate surplus captial and sustain the prevailing mode of production. Although participation of these workers in (small) industries and agricultural farms is a well-known fact, the U.S. Immigration Authority generally arrests a small fraction of this group from time to time and deports them from the U.S., as a formal measure. It is of particular importance to note how the social and economic development in Mexico is governed by the interests of U.S. capital, resulting into thousands of landless peasants and jobless workers.

8. Some Comments.

(a) Although the above data emprirically reveal some aspects of the U.S. immigration process, the underlying mechanism of the process, rooted in the nature and trend of the capitalist mode of development world-wide with the U.S. as the most dominant country, needs to be examined in a wider perspective. On the other hand, the migration of workers to the U.K., Canada, Australia and Western Europe along with the role of temporary (guest) workers in Western Europe and the Middle-East also feature important characteristics of the international division of labor in the capitalist world (see (11), (12), (13), for example). These aspects will not be discussed in this report.

(b) Some cursory remarks on the U.S. immigration process, not revealed in the above data, may be in order. Capitalist ideology glorifies the U.S. immigration process for accommodating millions of foreign workers, especially from under-developed countries presumably suffocated under the "pressure" of increasing population, and giving them opportunities in the U.S.

for a better livelihood. This ideology not only ignores the fact that thousands of workers in the U.S. are deprived of educational opportunities and denied the fundamental right to work, but also the fact that the migration of workers is the effect of a particular mode of development in the countries peripheral to the capitalist world which puts pressure on the population resulting from the accumulation of capital in the ruling circles in the countries of origin of these workers and in metropolitan centers, in general. This development is accomplished through various repressive measures for the exploitation of natural resources and labor power. The economic and political measures realized through U.S. foreign policy sustain and reinforce the dependent mode of capitalist development in the underdeveloped countries, disregarding the welfare of workers in those countries.

(c) It is often stated that the reduction of birth rate in the U.S. is responsible for the increasing demand for foreign workers. The birth rate in the U.S. has indeed decreased, perhaps due to lack of opportunities and rising costs for raising children, participation of more women in the capitalist economy in order to meet family expenses, and the gradual shift from the traditional family structure resulting from rising alienation and isolation. So, in order to sustain the expensive and elitist higher educational system in the U.S. it has become necessary to enroll privileged students of many foreign countries. However, it should be borne in mind that the socio-economic structure in the U.S. is responsible for the prevailing high school drop-out rate, deterioration of the quality of education (even from the bourgeois viewpoint), and low level of education especially among the Negroes and the Spanish-speaking residents in the U.S.

Several surveys have indicated that "functional illiteracy" in the U.S. is still quite significant. (Book of the Year, 1977, Encyclopedia Britanica, Chicago). It was pointed out in an article in Chemical & Engineering News (July 19, 1982) that "the (U.S.) public, by most objective measures, is becoming increasingly ignorant of things mathematical, scientific and technological.... Convincing evidence of crisis status comes from a recent National Academy of Sciences convocation on the subject in Washington, D.C."

The percent of high school graduates among all 18-year old persons in the U.S. declined from 77.1 in 1970 to 73.3 in 1979. High school drop-out rate has been increasing since 1970 - the drop-out rate was 17.5% among the Negroes in 1980. During 1975-80 about 800,000 students of 14-17 years old dropped out from school each year. The number of Bachelor's degrees awarded per 100 high school graduates 4 years earlier has declined since 1974 - it was only 29 in 1980, whereas even the 1950 figure was 40. Real expenditure per student on higher education decreased in the late 1970's. On the other hand, tuition in private schools and colleges and in most of the universities is now beyond the reach of the majority. About 32 million people lived below the official poverty line in 1981: "One American child in five is living below the poverty line". (Economist, 31, July, 1982).

Under the prevailing trend, it is not likely that the new blue-collar immigrants, Negroes and Hispanic Americans would be able to provide appropriate training and higher education to their children. Not only the change in the wealth-distribution in the U.S. is virtually insignificant for the last three decades, but also the rate of social mobility had declined in recent years. The opportunity to become a scientist or an

engineer or a physician is effectively available to small privileged groups.

(d) It is clear that the basic objective of the U.S. immigration laws is to import workers in accordance to the needs of U.S. capital under the influence of different interest-groups instrumental for the structure of state-power, along with efforts to reduce the cost of reproduction of labor power as far as possible. So, a reserved pool of unemployed workers is maintained both locally and globally in order to control the wages (and salaries) and the living condition of workers. Moreover, as the organic composition of U.S. capital has changed significantly in the last three decades, as the decrease in the rate of profit has caused considerable concern, it has become more important to import skilled professional and technical workers in order to avoid investments in education and training, and to disrupt workers' unity through ethnic differences, if possible. The U.S. foreign policy is specially designed to maintain such a supply of workers through economic and political measures. On the other hand, low-paying low-level jobs in the U.S. economy, unattractive to many of the early immigrants belonging now to the "middle class", call for importing workers impoverished in their home countries. Moreover, the objective of various Refugee Acts is not only to import "necessary" workers, but also to reinforce the capitalist ideology which has become more aggressive amidst the deepening crisis of the capitalist economy.

(e) However, severe contradictions and antagonisms also ensued from the strategies of the U.S. ruling circles.

(i) In view of a rapid growth of R&D, mostly spurred by the war industry under the patronage of the State and the attempts of the U.S. capitalists to resolve the crisis resulting from increasing international competition and rising demands of workers, the National Science Board of the U.S. Government estimated the demand for scientists and engineers to be required by the U.S. economy. However, it has turned out that this manpower projection made in 1959-60 grossly overestimated the requirements, as a result of neglecting the possibility of economic crises inherent in the capitalist mode of production. A basic contradiction is the fact that manpower resources cannot be adequately planned in an unplanned economy under the anarchy of capital. Nevertheless, immigrant S|E were admitted in order to depress the salaries of S|E; eventually some groups of native engineers started protesting against the influx of foreign engineers. (20) Immigrant professionals, in general, tend to merge their individual interests with the interests of U.S. capital. But succesive recessions leading to job insecurity, discrimination against non-white professionals leading to relatively low salaries and slow rate of promotion, inability to do free and independent research to meet intellectual interests all would eventually alienate and possibly unite a significant group of professionals against the interests of capital.

In the larger arena, the reactionary trade-union leadership in the U.S. has again started to protest against the influx of foreign workers apparently to provide short-term gains to the native workers and thereby try to maintain the ruling power of the prevailing leadership.

(ii) In the face of rising demands of U.S. workers, a significant part of U.S. captial was exported in order to exploit the more "favorable"

conditions in foreign countries, especially in the Third World. Although this reduces the migratory flow temporarily, the dependent mode of capitalist development is sustained and reinforced through the modes of production governed by this exported capital. As a result, not only the potential for the emigration of workers in these countries increases, but also the intensity of confrontation with workers increases. On the other hand, this drain of capital from the U.S. economy induces unemployment in the U.S. labor force, resulting in a threat on the rule of capital.

Moreover, the ongoing struggle of the workers in the U.S. has put pressure on the State so as to extract a modicum of social welfare and democratic rights. The state has the burden of providing some degree of social welfare to all workers, and, as a result, the cost of reproduction of labor power increases indirectly. (It may be noted that immigrant workers in the U.S. do not have any voting rights until they become citizens.) Although the U.S. ruling circles are currently trying to slash various programs of social welfare and education, they are taking the risk of increasing the potential for an effective threat to their ruling power.

Now, it is the responsibility of the State to resolve the problems that have surfaced through the capitalist viewpoint, in general, ignoring the deepening contradictions.

9. Changes in the U.S. Immigration Laws

For the last five years there was a general feeling among the U.S. ruling circles that the immigration laws had to be changed, and some new laws were proposed by the appropriate committees of the U.S. Government. The need for the change recently proposed stemmed apparently from three empirical facts. Firstly, the total number of legal immigrants increased from about 400,000 in 1976 to 800,000 in 1980 (including the 135,000 Cuban and Haitian conditional entrants or refugees) -- more than twice the 290,000 ceiling set by the 1965 Immigration Act. The category of "immediate relative" of U.S. citizens, exempt from numerical limitation, has grown from 114,000 to 152,000 in this 5-year period. Secondly, refugee admissions have soared to 200,000 in 1980, four times the 50,000 level specified by the 1980 Refugee Act. Thirdly, thousands of undocumented workers now cross the borders of the United States each year; it is estimated that the net annual inflow is about 500,000. The number of apprehensions of illegal entrants has increased from about 160,000 in 1967 to nearly one million annually in recent years; however, only about 84,000 illegal residents were deported in 1977-79 out of a total of 3.2 million apprehended. It is estimated that about 3.5 to 6 million undocumented people are now living in the United States. Fourthly, the number of applications for asylum increased from 5,000 four years ago to 106,000 (including backlog).

Last March Senator Alan K. Simpson, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Immigration Subcommittee, focused on some possible impacts of the current trend of influx of immigrants to the U.S., when he introduced the Simpson-Mazzoli "Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1982" to the U.S. Senate. Senator Simpson's concerns centered around three points (14):

(a) Growth of U.S. population: "A net annual immigration of 750,000 would lead to a U.S. population in 100 years of 300,000,000, even if it is assumed that the fertility rate of the existing population remains at its present low level -- which is unlikely -- and the fertility rate of the new immigrants immediately declines to that of the present population as a whole -- which is even more unlikely. One-third of this 300,000,000 would consist of immigrants arriving after 1980 and their descendents". (b) Characteristics of the new immigrants: "If immigration is continued at a high level, but a substantial portion of these new persons and their descendants do not integrate fully into the society, they may well create in America some social, political and economic problems which exist in the countries from which they have chosen to depart. Furthermore, if language and cultural separatism rise above a certain level, the unity and political stability of the Nation will -- in time -- be seriously eroded." (c) Impact on the job market: "Not only do we observe this high total number of legal and illegal immigrants, but only a small fraction of them are individually admitted for qualities which are likely to benefit the Nation as a whole, and this is limited only to an analysis of job market impact. ... I believe, there are serious adverse job impacts, especially on low-skilled Americans."

Senator Simpson urged to bridle "compassion for the less fortunate people of other lands sufficiently" to protect the national interest of the U.S., and reform immigration laws appropriately so that the new laws can still "continue to benefit the United States". (14)

In August, 1982, the U.S. Senate passed a slightly modified version of the Simpson-Mazzoli Immigration Bill. The principal object of the proposed bill is two-fold: firstly, to check the uncontrolled influx of workers to the U.S. and secondly, to establish more control by the respective

government authority so that judicial reviews and decisions could be discouraged and avoided, and different vague clauses in the bill could be interpreted by the government authority in accordance to the dominant viewpoints of the ruling power. Senator Simpson's statements on the possible impact of cultural heterogeneity and political viewpoints of the new immigrants exhibit anti-socialism and racism in disguise, and these statements remind us of similar assessments made by the ruling power in the 1920's. It is of interest to note that the amended bill declared English as the "official language of the U.S.".

The bill sets the annual ceiling of the number of immigrants including immediate relatives and special immigrants at 425,000. It may be recalled that according to the current laws the annual world-wide ceiling is 270,000, and the "immediate relatives" and "special immigrants" are exempt from numerical limitation. The proposed ceiling is divided into two parts: (1) 350,000 for different "family reunification" categories minus the number of immediate relatives of U.S. citizens admitted in the prior year, and (2) 75,000 for different "independent" categories which include workers of exceptional ability along with skilled and unskilled workers (subject to certifications from the U.S. Labor Department) and investors of $250,000 or more, minus the number of special immigrants admitted in the prior year. Presumably, the admission of refugees would be governed by the 1980 Refugee Act, which included annual admission of 50,000 refugees of "special concern" to the United States; however, the President was given the authority to raise this limit if necessary, following consultation with the Congress. In Fiscal year 1981 the refugee quota was 217,000, and in 1982 it is 173,000.(7)

The amnesty plan proposed by the bill allows all "illegal aliens" who had lived in the U.S. continuously since January 1, 1977, to register themselves as legal residents. "Illegal Aliens" who came before January 1, 1980, would be given temporary status and allowed to upgrade it after 3 years. It is expected that about 1 million such residents would seek amnesty. However, they would not be eligible for welfare or other Federal aid programs for 3 years. The bill proposes sanctions against employers for recruiting undocumented workers, and use of tamper-proof national work eligibility cards would be introduced to facilitate law enforcement. According to the bill, any alien physically present in the U.S. or at a land border may apply for asylum if necessary, but such an application must be made within 14 days after the exclusion or deportation notice is served.

Except for Mexico and Canada, the country-quota is set at 20,000 per year minus the number of immediate relatives admitted in the prior year. For each of Mexico and Canada, the ceiling is set at 40,000 per year plus unused quotas of other coutries in the prior year.

It is also proposed that every nonimmigrant student with F visa must report in person to the local I.N.S. office and produce evidence of his/her student status during one of the first six months following the effective date of this regulation. A nonimmigrant student may be granted an extension of visa for at most one year at a time instead of an indefinite period. No nonimmigrant student (except those who are immediate relatives of U.S. citizens) would be allowed to adjust to immigrant status; at least two-year foreign residence would be required to qualify for immigrant status.

In essence, the proposed bill aims at reducing the total number of immigrants to be admitted each year. Since the number of immigrants

admitted under "immediate relatives" of U.S. citizens would gradually increase, as more and more new immigrants would become U.S. citizens, the effective quotas for other relative preference categories would be substantially reduced. Currently the total quota for relative preferences is 216,000. The bill abolishes the current Fifth Preference category which includes brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens, and eliminates part of the present Second Preference by excluding entry of adult (over 18 years old) sons and daughters of permanent residents. Moreover, the spouse and child of an immigrant alien would not receive the same status as the principal alien -- they have to individually qualify for U.S. visas. In effect, the chain reaction developed through relative preferences would be curbed in order to reduce demands for U.S. visas.

The bill aims at introducing more controls so that specific types of foreign workers, (as needed by the U.S. economy) could be admitted, eliminating the influx of "undesirable" workers. It raises the quota for occupational preferences from the present level of 54,000 to 75,000 (effectively around 70,000) and puts major emphasis on aliens of exceptional ability. However, labor certifications would probably be based on rather vague guidelines and arbitrary judgments. The bill also relaxes existing rules pertaining to temporary workers in particular making low paid foreign-born workers more readily available for U.S. agriculture (Guardian: Aug. 25, 1982).

Although the effective quota for Mexico would probably be around 65,000 (a large fraction of which would be used for admitting immediate relatives of U.S. citizens), the influx of Mexican workers without appropriate legal documents would still continue at a high level. During 1977-79 the total number of Mexican (legal) immigrants to the U.S. was about 188,500, and the number of illegal entrants from Mexico in that period was probably way over 300,000.

Sanctions against employers for recruiting illegal entrants could not be adequately enforced, as important sectors of U.S. agriculture and small industry thrive on the low wages of these undocumented workers. Moreover, these sanctions could "become a vehicle for discriminatory action against Hispanic Americans" and other minorities, as pointed out by Senator Kennedy.

The "legalisation proposal" for illegal aliens is essentially a temporary work program in disguise. It would allow thousands of undocumented workers to register, giving them immunity from deportation. During this 3-year wait for permanent residence status they will become temporary workers, have no rights to social benefits, and can still be deported after that (Guardian, June 23, 1982). It is well known that a large majority of undocumented workers had to pay social security taxes and income taxes (through payroll deductions), although they were deprived of any social benefits. It is worth noting that the U.S. Supreme Court has recently ruled that undocumented foreigners in the U.S. fall under the "equal protection" clause of the U.S. Constitution. The justices struck down a Texas law which allowed local school districts to either bar undocumented children from the public school or to charge them tuition (Guardian, June 30, 1982).

The U.S. immigration laws exhibit responses of a large section of the U.S. ruling circles to the crisis of U.S. capital, both locally and globally. These laws still aim at taking advantage of the pool of unemployed labor force in the so-called Third World. Emigration of workers to the U.S., shaped by the U.S. immigration laws and developed through various economic and political strategies of the U.S. ruling circles, reflect, nevertheless, the change in the organic composition of capital as well as

the problems regarding valorization and accumulation of capital along with the cost of reproduction of labor power (professional labor power, in particular). Social benefits and democratic rights (even at the current low level) earned by the U.S. workers have resulted into a substantial increase of the cost of reproduction of labor power in the U.S. and caused immense concerns in different sections of the U.S. ruling circles. On the other hand, the current trend of the U.S. economy, shaped by the forces of automation, corporate-mergers and war-industry, reflects the need for more changes in the structure of the labor force. Between 1965 and 1980, the number of employed workers in the U.S. increased by 26.2 million, and about 61.8% of this increase was due to the higher participation rate of female workers in the labor force. Between 1965 and 1980, more than 80% of the increase in the number of employed workers was due to increases in the number of professional and technical workers, managers and administrators, clerical workers, and service workers.

During the last two decades substantial growth of some specific occupations, namely clerical and service jobs, was accomplished by recruiting women workers at low wages and by maintaining discrimination against them. But many of the low-paying jobs in the U.S. farms, small industry, in particular, are unattractive to the Americans (old immigrants); So it is still important to import workers especially from the neighboring countries in Latin America under the domination of U.S. Capital. Besides these legal immigrants, the need for the so-called illegal aliens is still quite significant.

On the other hand, the net savings to the U.S. in educational cost due to the immigration of professional, technical and skilled workers

were enormous. The influx of foreign professionals to the U.S. also helps the U.S. capitalists to control the salaries of the professional labor force, and to sustain the rule of capital through the services of these professionals. In this connection, it is of interest to note the following comment of the Washington Post: "The United States today stands alone among the industrialized nations in its indifference to the quality of education its children are getting. ... The United States educated a tiny elite of the world's best scientists and engineers and left everyone else scientifically illiterate. Scientific and technical learning did not just fail to keep up, it declined". (SIAM News, Vol. 15, Number 3, 1982).

Although the new immigration laws are designed to change the structure of the labor force in response to the ongoing crises of U.S. capital, the contradictions and antagonism are nevertheless becoming more pronounced. These aspects will be discussed in Part III.

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